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628 681 563 case in questions of homicide, since the social situation was composed of the structural relations of the slayer and his kin to the dead man and to other people concerned in the dispute. In our opinion the uncertainty and contradiction which was often evident in the statements of Nuer about assessments of blood-cattle is to be accounted for by relativity of status, it being relative always to the structural distance between persons, and therefore not rigidly definable.

628 681 621 Likewise *rul* is a very plastic concept. If a Leek man goes to Gaajak country to steal cattle and is killed no compensation would be paid for the homicide. A Leek man travelling through Gaajak country without intent to cause loss to its owners would not wantonly be slain. If the man were visiting kinsmen or affines and was killed in a quarrel, his hosts would consider that they were under an obligation to avenge him, though, perhaps, not under a very strong obligation. But a Leek man who has built his homestead in Gaajak country and has married into the village where he resides is a member of that community. If another member of his village kills him, it may be held that he is a *rul* and therefore his death may be paid for with fewer cattle than that of an aristocrat. But if a member of another village kills him, his community are not likely to accept this definition of status, because one does not differentiate between members of one's community on grounds of descent in its relation with other political segments. In political relations community ties are always dominant and determine behaviour.

VIII

• 597 563 619 We have observed that within a tribe there are three categories of persons: *diel*, *rul*, and *jaang*. The *diel* are an aristocratic clan, numerically swamped in the tribe by strangers and Dinka, but providing a lineage structure on which the tribal organization is built up. The problem is how strangers and Dinka are attached to the dominant clan in such a way that the clan becomes, through the relations of other members of the tribe to it, the framework of the political system. As Nuer reckon all social ties in a kinship idiom it is clear that only the recognition of mutual bonds of kinship could lead to this result. Such recognition is accorded in several ways. We will start by

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an examination of adoption. A Nuer cannot be adopted into a lineage other than that into which he is born, so that the custom concerns only Dinka.

We have already described how Nuer scorn Dinka and persistently raid them, but they do not treat those Dinka who are permanent members of their community differently from its Nuer members, and we have seen that persons of Dinka descent form probably at least half the population of most tribes. These Dinka are either children of captives and immigrants who have been brought up as Nuer, or are themselves captives and immigrants who are residing permanently among Nuer. They are *'Jaang-Nath'*, 'Dinka-Nuer', and, it is said, *'caa Nath'*, 'they have become Nuer'. As we have explained, once their membership of a community is recognized, in most of Nuerland, their legal status is the same as that of a free-born Nuer, and it is only in relation to ritual and rules of exogamy that attention is drawn to their origin. In structural relations of a political kind they are undifferentiated members of a segment. Although in his domestic and kinship relations a Dinka has not so strong a position as a Nuer, because he has not the same range of kinship links, I have never observed that they suffer any serious disabilities, far less degradation. In answer to my question whether a captured Dinka would not work harder in the kraal than a son of the family, I was told that he was a son and would enjoy the same privileges as the other sons, being given an ox by his father at initiation and, later, bride-cattle for a wife. The only foreigners who suffer serious social inequality are certain small pockets of Dinka and Anuak who have been conquered but not absorbed into Nuer society and culture. Such pockets, like the Balak Dinka and the Anuak on the Sobat river, enjoy neither the privileges of Nuer citizenship nor the freedom of foreigners. Such pockets do not truly constitute part of a Nuer tribe.

Captured Dinka boys are almost invariably incorporated into the lineage of their Nuer captors by the rite of adoption, and they then rank as sons in lineage structure as well as in family relations, and when the daughters of that lineage are married they receive bride-cattle. A Dinka boy is brought up as a child of his captor's household. He is already incorporated into the family and joint family by his acceptance as a member of these

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groups by their other members and by outsiders. People say *'caa dil e cieng'* or *'caa ran wec'*, 'he has become a member of the community', and they say of the man who captured him that 'he has become his father', and of his sons that 'they have become his brothers'. He is already a member of the *gol*, the household and joint family. Adoption gives him a position in lineage structure, and thereby ceremonial status, for by adoption he becomes a member of his captor's *thok dwiel*, lineage.

I was told that the captor will seldom himself give the lad *buth*, agnatic affiliation to his lineage, and that the rite is usually performed by a kinsman at the request of his sons and with the consent of their minimal lineage. A representative of the lineage invites the Dinka, now grown-up and initiated, to attend the sacrifice of an ox or sheep in his kraal. The head of the joint family provides the sacrificial beast and the representative of the lineage drives the tethering-peg into the earth at the entrance to the byre and walks up and down the kraal invoking the spear-name of the clan and calling on the spirits and ancestral ghosts of the lineage to take note that the Dinka is now a member of it and under their protection. He then spears the beast and the Dinka is smeared with the undigested contents of its stomach while the ghosts and spirits are asked to accept him. He is especially smeared on the soles of his feet, for this binds him to his new home. If he leaves it he will die. The beast is then cut up, and a son of the house, or the representative of the lineage, and his new brother divide the skin and the scrotum, which the Dinka cuts. The Dinka also takes the neck as his portion. On all future occasions when animals are sacrificed by members of the lineage the Dinka will receive his share of the meat, for he is now a member of the lineage. The cutting of the scrotum is the symbolic act which makes the man a member of the lineage, because only an agnatic relative may cut the scrotum of a sacrificial beast. 'A man who has cut the scrotum of your beast, if he has sexual relations with your daughter, he will die.'

A girl captive is not adopted into the lineage, but people say *'caa lath cungni'*, 'she is given a right to receive bride-wealth'. 'Her children are become people who partake in the bride-cattle'. This means that when she is married, or her daughters are married, the sons of the family in which she has been brought up will receive the cattle due to brothers and maternal uncles, and that in return, when the daughters of the sons and daughters of this family are married, she, or her sons, can claim the cow due to the paternal aunt and the cow due to the maternal aunt. She has become a daughter to her captor and a sister to his sons, but she is not a member of their lineage.

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By adoption Dinka men are grafted on to the lineage of their captors. They trace their ascent up the lineage to its ancestor and they become a new point of its growth. The fusion is complete and final. The spirits of the lineage become their spirits, its ghosts become their ghosts, and its spear-name and honorific name become their symbols. Indeed it is almost impossible without a prolonged stay in a Nuer village or camp to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer origin. I have for weeks considered men to be true Nuer, whereas they were descended from captured Dinka, for a man whose Dinka grandfather had been adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a member of the lineage as the man whose grandfather adopted his grandsire, and he is so regarded by other members of the lineage and by persons not of it. Thus, when a man gives his descent from E through D and C, and another man gives his descent from E through J and K, one naturally assumed that D and J were sons of E. There is no means of knowing that, in fact, J was a captured Dinka who was adopted into the lineage, unless someone volunteers the information—a most unlikely happening in Nuerland. Moreover, it is impolite to ask strangers whether their grandfathers were captured Dinka, and, even if they were of Dinka origin, they would not readily say so. One can, of course, always ask other people; but only those who are members of the same lineage are likely to be fully acquainted with the man's ancestry, and they, in all probability, will not tell one if he is of Dinka origin, for he is their agnatic kinsman as far as outsiders are concerned.

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A very large number of Dinka in all tribes have been incorporated by adoption into Nuer lineages. Since, as mentioned later, adopted Dinka and their descendants can marry into collateral lineages, it would not be accurate to say that they are adopted into clans. Probably most captured Dinka were adopted into Nuer lineages, but there are also many Dinka lineages descended from men who came of their own free will to settle in Nuerland, either to escape famine, largely caused by Nuer raiding, in their own country, to visit captured sisters, or to reoccupy the sites from which Nuer raids had ousted them. Such immigrants were unmolested and were permitted to settle or return to Dinkaland as they might choose. A Dinka who decided to settle

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before they reach the first ancestor from whom bifurcate collateral lines of descent of the kind they call a *thok dwiel*, a lineage?

A Nuer, when asked about this matter, gave an historical explanation: 'In the days when people scattered, brother and son went raiding and they settled where they raided. Then kinship ceased (*ce mar thuk*) and there remained only a lineage relationship (*ce dwoth ni buth*).' This could only have happened, however, as Nuer themselves say, after some generations had elapsed. Even today descendants of Nuer who settled to the east of the Nile, after raiding the Dinka in what are now the Jikany and Lou tribal areas, sometimes travel to the homes of their forebears to the west of the Nile to receive cattle which are their due on the marriages of the daughters of kinsmen from whose fathers and grandfathers their fathers and grandfathers separated. While the privileges of kinship are thus claimed, the persons concerned cannot be regarded as *jibuthni*, members of collateral lineages. Indeed, in my experience, Nuer do not generally speak of lineages till four or five generations back in patrilineal ascent, and I think also that there are good technical reasons for following Nuer usage in this matter and for not speaking of lineages before at least the third generation is reached.

Although any relative of a man is *mar* to him, the word most frequently refers to close relatives only, and on the paternal side generally implies those persons on the marriage of whose daughters a man can claim a portion of the bridewealth proper, which means an agnatic relationship deriving from any forebear as far back as, but not beyond, the bride's great grandfather. Nuer commonly explain such matters in terms of cattle-rights. Also it is for descendants of the great grandfather that specific kinship terms are used in their primary reference. It is this grouping, in relation to any person, of agnates of three generations in depth that I shall have in mind when I speak of a man's paternal kin.

Beyond this point we enter into the structural relations of the lineage system where the Nuer begin to speak of collectivities of agnates. There is always *buth* between collateral lineages of the same clan and there may also be *buth* between clans, as I have explained in *The Nuer*. Also, a captured Dinka boy may be *lath buthni*, given *buth*, and thereby made a member of his captor's lineage. Groups which have no *buth* have *rul* between them, that is, they are 'strangers'. I omit further discussion about the

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The entire population of Major was at Yakwac in 1931 for
621 many of its members, including most of the womenfolk, had
602 remained inland and some families spent the dry season at other
601 camps on the Sobat. The women who came to Yakwac slept in the huts of the village, so no grass beehive huts were erected. The population of the camp was about eighty souls. I have again simplified the genealogy by showing ghost-marriages as simple legal marriages, but I have indicated, as I have not done in the other genealogies presented in this chapter, those members of the camp who are known to be Dinka or of Dinka descent. Those among them who are shown as members of the Pual lineage have been adopted into one of its branches. The names of only a few women and none of small children are given in the genealogical table, which is intended to demonstrate the kinship ties between the occupants of the windscreens, all of whom, with the exception of the mother of Cam, are males.

621 A study of the genealogy of Yakwac cattle camp reveals the
613 features we have already noted as being significant in the gene-
601 alogy of Nyueny. It is a lineage structure—the lineage being a branch of the dominant clan in the tribal area and that branch which is dominant in the district in which the camp was formed—to which are attached other lines through females, thus giving the genealogy a cognatic form, and affines. In order to graft themselves on to the tree of this dominant clan the linked families trace their descent through females at the points of graft as though these women had been men. It was a long time before I discovered, for example, that Kirkir's paternal grandfather was Buom and not Kol. A rather unusual example in which this process is strikingly illustrated is the line of ascent of Deng-Nyajal through females in three generations to the point of graft, Gai. Nyanhial and her daughter Nyajal were captured by the Anuak on a raid into Lou country and for many years lived in Anuakland, where Deng was begotten by an Anuak father. In the camp Deng was always referred to as Deng-Nyajal after his mother and not as Deng-Cul after his father, because Nyajal, and not Cul, is genealogically significant in Deng's social milieu. In the same way we referred always to Cuol as Cuol-Mer and not as Cuol-Rwac. In this cluster of kin at Yakwac camp the importance of affinal and maternal ties is evident.

613 I have indicated Dinka origins, where I have satisfactory evi-
601 dence for them, partly to show the very considerable absorption
597 [cf. facing M. 19 (a)–(c) — Analyst]

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613 of Dinka which has taken place, by adoption into Nuer lineages
601 and through marriage, in a typical Nuer community, and partly
597 to account for some marriages which might otherwise appear to be breaches of the Nuer rules of exogamy. These Dinka are of varied tribal origin. Among those whose names appear in the genealogy I have recorded Bor, Fadang, Luac, Thoc, and Dunjol origins. The absorption of so many Dinka has affected, through the practice of adoption, the rules regulating marriage, and it has also affected modes of residence, since a Dinka who has not been adopted into a Nuer lineage readily attaches himself to his wife's people or to the people who have married his sister or daughter, as do also his children to their maternal uncle's kin. The absorption of Dinka has led to a further complication in the already very complicated patterns of Nuer genealogies, for it sometimes happens that captured Dinka brothers or other kin are adopted into different lineages or even into different clans.

I would also draw attention to the different tribal origins of those Nuer in the genealogy who are not members of the dominant lineage, because they illustrate the movement of individuals and families which is so characteristic a feature of Nuer society: Yit was a Bul tribesman, he and Pinien being children of sisters or, as the Nuer say, a man and his *gatmanlende*, his mother's sister's son; Carau and Wan-Wang were Jikany tribesmen, Carau being an aristocrat of the Lony section of the Jikany, though begotten by an Anuak; Nhial-Deng is of Thiang tribal origin; Kurcam was a man of the Jimem clan, a clan which is found throughout Nuerland and without a tribal territory of its own; and so forth. Indeed, it is necessary to point out that not all outsiders attached to a lineage core remain attached to it. Nuer move about their country freely, and reside for some years with one lot of kin and then for some years with another.

621 The genealogy of Yakwac camp gives us a typical cross-section
613 of a Nuer tribal society. We see how the local community is built up around a lineage through attachment to it of extra-lineage persons by the stressing of one or other category of kinship, and we thus see further the relation of the lineage structure to the kinship system within the framework of the tribal society. The collateral, and in a structural sense, opposed lineage to the Pual is the Dumien, who live near Pul Thul and Pul Nyerol in the same Nyerol district in which the Pual have their wet-season home and

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father's brother, *gatgwanlen*, father's brother's son, *wac*, father's sister, and so on.

Lineages are articulated as groups of agnatic kin at a different, usually ritual, level of the social life, and they are articulated as conglomerates, fused with other elements, at the political level. Kinship ties belong to another order of social relations, relations between persons and not between groups. The members of a lineage group are socially undifferentiated as such in the inter-lineage structure because it is a structural relationship between groups. In the kinship system they are socially differentiated by category and degree of relationship—this being an essential characteristic of the system—because the kinship system is a system of relationships between persons.

As we have seen, members of a Nuer community are all *mar*, kin (including affines in this term), to one another. Whoever is kith must also be kin. Common membership of a village or camp does not in itself provide a man with a secure basis for his personal relations with its other members. That is provided chiefly by the kinship system by which a kinship tie established with any person in the village or camp gives a man a kinship status of some kind with every other person in the village or camp—with all his neighbours. Consequently a local community consists of a great number of cross-strands which compose an intricate network of kinship ties.

The relationships which enter into any particular composition are not the same as those of another, and they change from year to year and from season to season inasmuch as Nuer frequently change their place of residence. Therefore a cluster of kin of this kind does not constitute a specific kinship group. When it is thought of by Nuer as a unit it is not as a kinship group but as a residential group by association with a lineage or site. Its members are *jicieng* so-and-so, the people of a community of a certain lineage, or *ji* such-and-such, the people of a certain place. To any member of the community the rest are '*jiciengda*', 'the people of my home'. '*Jimarida*', 'my kin', has quite a different connotation: it is a set of personal relationships to him and includes men and women who do not belong to the cluster at all.

The absorption of Dinka into these communities of kin on so considerable a scale has been significant. As I have pointed out in *The Nuer*, assimilation of conquered Dinka tribes and tribal sections has not, for various reasons, resulted in a class or caste, or in

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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597 563 613 any other rigid hierarchical structure. It has been brought about by their incorporation into Nuer lineages by adoption and by their assimilation to them through intermarriage. When Dinka are adopted into a lineage, absorption into Nuer society presents no great difficulty. Their Dinka origin is remembered by members of the lineage of their adoption, at any rate for some generations, but after one or two generations it may not be known to outsiders; and I suppose that in course of time it may be forgotten within the lineage itself. They are part of the lineage, have the same status as its other members, and are points of growth in the branch equal to men born into it. But when Dinka are not adopted into a Nuer lineage absorption is achieved with greater difficulty and by circuitous means. If we examine closely the history of those persons in the genealogies I have recorded who have attached themselves permanently to an affinal or maternal family and through it to a minimal lineage, and if we trace also the histories of those persons who through such an attachment in the past now trace their descent from the lineage through a female, we shall find that in a very great number, I venture to say in the vast majority, of cases they are Dinka. This is a development which it is easy to understand because captured Dinka or Dinka immigrants into Nuerland have lost their status in their own kinship and lineage systems, and if they are not adopted into Nuer lineages they can only acquire status in Nuer society through affinal relationships; and their children, having no kin on the father's side, identify themselves with the mother's kin and, having no lineage on the father's side, seek affiliation to the mother's lineage. It is true that 621 614 we find strangers of Nuer clans as members of clusters of kin around a lineage core of the dominant clan of the tribe, but where the attachment is permanent these strangers are, in my experience, generally persons of those Nuer clans which have no tribal territory of their own—no *wec*, local community, as Nuer say—like the Jimem, Jikul, and Kiek clans. These clans have, moreover, in some cases mythological beginnings placing them outside the main family of Nuer clans and suggesting foreign origin. Assimilation in such cases can never be so complete as in the case of Dinka, because members of Nuer clans have their own clan symbols and their own *buth* relationships which attach them to the lineages of their birth.

000 Another factor which has certainly had some influence in

7: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931-1936) 1949 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

582 place between them. An ox of the *ma jok thiang* colour is believed to have been cut in two in ancient days to permit intermarriage between persons who are descended from a common ancestor beyond that point, so long as they are not agnates. Nuer explain that a man who is related to a woman as far back as six generations might still claim a small gift at her marriage, a clear indication that they cannot marry. If a proposed union is a borderline case a gourd may be ritually broken in half to end kinship. They then say *Bakena mar*, 'We break kinship', and *Ba bak ne kir*, 'It (kinship) is broken with a gourd.' It should be noted, however, that a man cannot marry the daughter of a woman of his own maximal lineage even though the lines of himself and the mother converge at a point more than six generations back. Some clans permit marriage to the daughter of a woman of a collateral maximal lineage of the clan. Stated in a slightly different way, a man or woman may marry into his, or her, mother's clan but not into her maximal lineage. Other clans do not allow a man to marry into his mother's clan in any circumstances.

When, as often happens among the Nuer, the physiological father, the *genitor*, is a different man from the sociological father, the *pater*, his sons will not marry into his minimal lineage because the physiological connexion is socially recognized by the payment to the natural father of a cow of the bridewealth of his natural daughters. They may, however, marry women of a collateral lineage even where this would not have been allowed had their father been their *pater*. Close natural cognation of any kind is a bar to marriage. Thus I was told that a man would not marry the daughter of his *nar laka*, the natural son of his maternal grandfather.

582 The adoption of a Dinka boy into a Nuer minimal lineage—
597 an event which very frequently takes place—prevents him from marrying into that lineage, and he would normally not be allowed to marry into a collateral minimal lineage of the same minor lineage.[1] Some of my informants were of the opinion that he ought not to marry into the clan at all, but marriages of adopted Dinka into collateral major, and even minor, lineages undoubtedly take place sometimes. When this happens it is permitted because Nuer hold of adoption that 'It stops there (in

[1] An instance of a marriage of this kind is given in 'The Nuer: Tribe and Clan', *Sudan Notes and Records*, xvii (1934), p. 15.

7: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931-1936) 1949 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

the joint family) and remains in their lineage (minimal), it would not jump over their fire-place (joint family) to a collateral lineage'; but to avoid the appearance of a breach of exogamy the spear-name *mut jangemo*, spear of this Dinka, is called out in the invocation of the ghosts on the day of the adopted Dinka's wedding in addition to the clan spear-name which becomes his by adoption. By this means the spear-names of the bride and bridegroom, which are the same, are distinguished. A man and woman with the same spear-name cannot marry, because this is evidence of common clanship. Also when, as it sometimes happens, a captured Dinka boy is not adopted into his captor's lineage, men of this lineage cannot marry his daughter because some of the cattle of her bridewealth are due to them, since the Dinka will have married with their cattle. The sons of the captor count as paternal uncles in the distribution of her bridewealth, and other members of the lineage may claim some part of it. Captured Dinka girls are not adopted into Nuer lineages and their captors can marry them, though they rarely do so. If the captor of a girl intends to marry her or to let one of his sons marry her he passes a spear-shaft between her legs and then hands her over to another man to bring up outside his village 'because if she were to remain in his homestead she would become his daughter'. Generally a captured girl is brought up a member of her captor's household and is regarded as his daughter. He rubs ashes on the back of a sheep and tells his ancestral ghosts that the girl is 'our daughter and our sister'. Nuer say: 'Thus she is taken into the household (*gol*) and becomes a member of the household.' They also say: 'She will become our daughter and we will receive her bridewealth-cattle.' The cattle of her bridewealth give her kinship with the persons among whom it is distributed as does also her right to receive in return the cows of the paternal aunt on the marriage of the daughters of the sons of her captor and foster-father. Marriage is therefore forbidden between her descendants and the descendants of these kinsmen in virtue of bridewealth, for several generations. She herself can be married to a clansman of her captor and foster-father so long as her husband does not belong to his minimal lineage, which is to say, so long as those who pay her bridewealth cannot also claim part of it, for those who can claim part of a girl's bridewealth are kin to her. Nuer state these rules in terms of cattle.

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8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
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(*nuer*), sometimes resulting in death, falls equally on both parties and even upon their relatives. There are therefore strong social and ritual sanctions. For the purposes of this Manual I shall do no more than summarize the laws of exogamy, and refer the reader to published literature on the subject.

Nuer clans and lineages are exogamous. The patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor may not intermarry. The laws of exogamy extend farther than this and include persons who are closely related by marriage; persons related by blood but not legal kinship; and, finally, persons standing in a particular social relationship to each other. The prohibited degrees of relationship and other circumstances may be summarized as follows:

(i) A man may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a clanswoman, and therefore with a woman of his lineage. The limits of clan exogamy are not, however, so rigid as to be unalterable. If the ancestral link is remote (beyond ten generations or so) the prohibition may be ignored or effectively removed by appropriate sacrifice and prescribed ritual.

(ii) A man may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman who is a clanswoman of his mother. This prohibition is not, however, carried back beyond six or seven generations.

(iii) As we have seen, a Nuer may be the legal son of one man and the physiological son of another. The prohibited degrees recorded above would apply to the Nuer through his legal father, but the relationship of the *genitor* to his natural child has a degree of social recognition, and it is also not permissible to marry a close kinswoman of the *genitor*. The extent of this prohibition is not as wide as that created by legal kinship.

(iv) Adoption, especially of Dinka children, is a common occurrence[1] among the Nuer, and the links created between father and adopted child receive social recognition and ultimately legal recognition amounting to true kinship.[2] A man would not be allowed to marry or have sexual intercourse with a kinswoman of his adopted father, though in the initial stages this prohibition would be less extensive. In the next generation it would probably be identical, for a man who is fully adopted into a Nuer lineage assumes all the characteristics of that lineage, and in the future his origin may be forgotten. Similarly, an adopted girl would not marry into the lineage of her adoption, and would be bound by the same prohibitions. The reason here is clearer. Members of the lineage of her adoption would be the recipients of her bridewealth cattle and could not also be her relatives-in-law.

[1] Obviously more common in the past.

[2] See also under Homicide, Chapter II, p. 56. The distinction between *jaang dhor* and *jaang ciang* is relevant.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
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the ancestor of one lineage and the ancestress of the other (as with the JINACA and the JIMAC), but is owing also to the fact that their two sections continue to intermarry all the way down their line of descent, since the marriage of a man of lineage A into lineage B does not prevent his cousin marrying into lineage B also. In course of time the two lineages become so intermarried that it is impossible for them to continue to intermarry without breaking exogamous rules. Thus I was told that the GAALIEK lineage (*diel*) and the JEMAC lineage (*rul*) in the Mor moiety of the Lou tribe had reached a stage when a GAALIEK man could no longer marry a JEMAC woman, though he might marry a descendant of a JIMAC woman two or three generations removed.

As we shall see later, captured Dinka are adopted into Nuer families, and as they have no cattle they necessarily depend for sustenance and marriage upon the family of their adoption. They forge descent through the men who have adopted them and their lineage becomes grafted on to the genealogical tree of descent of their foster fathers so that their children count for most purposes as *gaat twot*. Often *rul* and *jaang* who are poor will come and live near a generous man of whom it is said " He is poor and has nothing because he has given everything away "—a great compliment. Such dependants will be provided with marriage-cattle by their patrons and they will bring their wives to the *wec* of the man who has befriended them, and here their children will be brought up as children of the *wec* and count almost as *gaat twot* since they were born through the cattle of a *tut*.

A lineage of *diel* split up as a result of internal dissension and also because a man of personality likes to found his own independent settlement where he will be an important person rather than remain a younger brother in a group of influential elder relatives. This, Jok told me, is a reason why the Nuer are dissatisfied with the present arrangements made by the Government, which have as their object the creation of local " chiefs " whose position tends to become formalised, permanent, and hereditary. To them this is a rigid interpretation of political power based on a territorial rather than personal basis which stabilises the control of a single man or lineage in a country where every Nuer carries his baton in his knapsack. It does not follow that a man must be a *dil* to gain influence among his fellow villagers. He may be a *tut* of some other lineage than the dominant lineage of his tribe who has been able to

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624 624 621 establish himself and his near kin as the social leaders of the locality in which they live. Also I believe that the common view expressed by Europeans that the Nuer leopard-chiefs were once powerful political chiefs whose power has lately been undermined by Arab influence and the development of lines of influential prophets and that their power must be re-established is based on a one-sided appreciation of the facts (*see* section No. VII).

621 563 597 727 We have seen that two elements in a Nuer village are the *diel wec* and the *rul wec*. The third element in a Nuer village is the Dinka *jaang wec* and this falls into two types, captured Dinka and Dinka who have come to live among the Nuer of their own free will. Boys and girls captured in war—for adults are usually put to the spear, only very small boys and unmarried maidens being carried off to Nuerland—are brought up as children of their captor's household and treated as his own sons and daughters. Two of my informants, Jok and Tutrial, gave me a very clear summary of the position of a captured Dinka. Their captor in no way distinguishes them and his own sons and daughters, and neither he nor any of his family would refer to them as *Jaang* (Dinka), which is a term of deep contempt and insult. They do precisely no more and no less work than any other member of the household and are in no manner degraded or humiliated. In answer to my questions whether a captured Dinka would not be expected to do more hoeing or tending of the cattle than children of the family, my informant's reply was decisively clear "You ask me whether he would not work harder than the sons, well, is he not a son?"

When I asked Tutrial whether you would not address your captive as "Jaang," he replied with some impatience at my denseness "Are you likely to do such a thing? Now listen, be quiet and I will tell you. When you marry a woman with cattle and sleep in the same hut with her does anyone come and ask you why you sleep so late in the day? Now when you go out to capture a Dinka your foot is pierced by thorns—you have got to be stalwart for that; you are ravished by hunger—you have got to be stalwart for that; you have spears thrown at you—you have got to be stalwart for that too; now I ask you when you have got your Dinka are you likely to call him a *Jaang*? Did you not win him because you were strong?"

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Were a man of another village or of a different kin to call him by the title of *Jaang* it would be a serious matter because the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the remark. To them he is *demar*, my brother, and they will quarrel with anyone who calls him *Jaang* and there may be bloodshed. They will ask "Who is a Jaang? Did your father seize him or did ours?"

Just as a captured Dinka suffers from few disabilities owing to his birth so he enjoys most of the privileges of a free-born Nuer. The man who has adopted him will give him cattle with which to marry a wife, and he will be thus enabled to marry according to the same rules of priority as if he were a real son. If he is older than a real son of the family he will marry before him. A and B are real sons of X, and C is an adopted Dinka whose age comes in between the ages of A and B. The order of marriage will be A, C, B. When A and B's daughters are married, C, the Dinka, will receive the cattle of a *gwanlen* (paternal uncle) just as if he were an ordinary brother to A and B.

Dinka who have been taken in war and brought up by a Nuer family will eventually be formally adopted and given *buth* (*ca lath buthni*, he is given relationship). One youth, Wan, told me that the man who brought up a captured Dinka would give him *buth* (relationship), but two other informants, Tutrial and Jok, disputed this statement, saying "He will not do so because the Dinka is his son, so why should he?" The son of this man, or more likely his brother's son (*gat gwanlen*) will, however, invite his Dinka boy, when grown-up and initiated into manhood, to come and tether a bullock in his kraal and kill it. The bullock is first of all invoked by the owner of the kraal and he addresses the spirits of his clan and tells them that this man is now a member of his family. This ceremony is regarded as being very much the affair of the spirits who guard your clan and your own special lineage. It is your duty to let them know if you are adopting a new member into your kin because all members of your kin are under their care. Another informant said that the bullock is killed at the entrance to the sponsor's byre and that the Dinka's body is smeared with the undigested contents of its stomach while the spirits of the clan are asked to accept him into it. After this ceremony the Dinka becomes a member of your lineage, he becomes a relation of yours (*gwan buthni ka ji*) and the spirits of your lineage will go to him and be his spirits also. After the bullock has been invoked it

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563 is sacrificed and cut up and the son of the house and his Dinka "brother" each take half the skin and the *juak*, and the Dinka takes the neck. On all future occasions when animals are killed by his relative by adoption he will be able to claim his share of the meat on the grounds of relationship (*see* Section No. VI). It seems that, whilst before this ceremony of being given relationship he was treated in all respects as a member of the family, he did not count as a member of the lineage, at any rate for purposes of division of meat, which goes only to relatives of the owner. He will now regard himself as a "member of the clan" of his "father." *Caa Juak tem*, they have cut through the scrotum, he is now a member of their clan.

We may, at any rate for the moment, speak of these captured Dinka who go through a ceremony of adoption into the lineage of their captor as becoming affiliated to Nuer clans in the framework of which they trace their descent and for which they receive the various ritual emblems which mark a clansman. It is almost impossible, without a prolonged stay in a Nuer cattle-camp, to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer origin. I have for weeks considered a man to be of pure descent, that is to say by direct filiation of blood, when in reality he comes from the stock of a captured Dinka. Such a man who had a Dinka grandfather who was adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a member of the lineage as the grandson of the man who gave his grandfather *buth* and is so regarded by other members of his lineage and by everybody else. Thus when a man gives you his genealogy as A, son of B, son of C, son of D, son of E, and another man gives you his genealogy as X, son of Y, son of Z, son of Q, son of E, you naturally imagine that D and Q were two sons of E and that they have founded separate lines of descent, one of which has produced A and the other of which has produced X. There is no means of knowing that in point of fact Q was a Dinka captured by E and given *buth* by his son D unless someone tells you the true state of affairs as a piece of information which he thinks will be of interest to you, a most unlikely happening in Nuerland. Moreover, you cannot very well go about asking people whether their grandfathers were captured Dinka and if you did they would be very unlikely to tell you. You can, of course, always ask other people but the only people who are likely to be fully acquainted with a man's ancestry are members of the same lineage and they in all probability will not tell you. The consequences of wholesale adoption of Dinka into

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Nuer lineages belongs more to a study of kinship than to the plan of the present paper. Its importance may be gauged by the fact that probably some 75 per cent. of the Lou tribe are of Dinka descent, belonging either to families sprung from a man who has been *lath buthni*, given relationship, in a Nuer lineage, or to the families which have retained their full status as independent Dinka lineages.

This is the second type of Dinka domiciled among the Nuer to whom I made reference earlier. In the old days, and still to-day, Dinka frequently came to live among Nuer of their own accord and were always well received and allowed to settle and become members of the village community. There are a number of reasons which may have influenced a Dinka in taking this step. Along the Nuer-Dinka border intermarriage was frequent and Dinka would come to live near their married sisters and perhaps settle there and bring up a family who are Nuer in everything but descent. In the same way if a Nuer captured a Dinka girl and brought her up and gave her in marriage he might expect a visit from her brother, who would perhaps settle in his sister's village, in which case his brother-in-law would certainly give him one or two cows to start a herd. Many Dinka families came into Lou country to escape hunger and the other attendant miseries to which they had been reduced by constant Nuer raiding which left them cattleless.[1] Moreover there must have been a very large element of the original Dinka owners of country to the east of the Nile absorbed into the social system of their Nuer conquerors. They cannot all have been dispersed, and the probability is that what happened during the Nuer invasions was similar to what was happening along the Nuer-Dinka border right up to the present day when raiding and intermarriage occupied long lulls between waves of fresh invasion.

[1] I was told that it sometimes happened that a poor Dinka would come and live with a rich Nuer and would help to herd his cattle and cultivate his gardens so that the Nuer, being gratified, would give him a blind or lame daughter whom no one wanted to marry. This is apparently considered a proper marriage, since the Dinka presents his wife with a skirt (*yet*). My informants said that, of course, no one would give a nice girl to a Dinka in this way.

(*To be continued.*)

15: Butt E-4 (No date) 1952 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

DIFFERENTIATION OF STATUS AMONG THE NUER

There are three categories in a Nuer tribe: *diel*, *rul* and *jaang*. 614

The dominant clan is *diel* and members of other clans settling after the establishment of the dominant lineage are *rul* (strangers). Not every member of a clan lives in a tribe where his clan has a superior status; a man is a *dil* (an aristocrat) only in the tribe in which his clan is dominant, for the status of *diel* derives from residence on land owned by the clan. Prestige, not authority or any particular power, is attached to the *diel*; they are owners of the land, the village sites and pastures. Strangers live on the land through some link with, and the recognition of, the true owners. 554

A *rul* (stranger) is a Nuer who is not a *dil* in the tribe in which he lives. He may be influential, highly respected and even a *tut* (bull), though not belonging to the aristocratic clan. He may, indeed, group round him an entire village community in spite of the presence of several tribal aristocrats in the same village; in this respect personality and influence may count for more in everyday local affairs than a particular lineage affiliation.(1) In fact, in the everyday life of a village community, the only socially significant difference between aristocrats and strangers is in the assessment of blood cattle, and this is only found among the Jikany tribes. 554 609

'Tribal bulls', on the other hand, belonging to a lineage of the dominant clan of a tribe, are far more important in the political system than the *rul* bulls, for they are centres of clusters of kin and are also agnates, each having in relation to the others a structural position in the lineage system of the dominant clan.(2) 619 554

A Dinka adopted into a joint family is a *jaang* to the people of the family. To people outside the family he is a member of it and his status is not differentiated; he has all the rights and obligations of other members. Only the assessment of his value in blood cattle differentiates him from the Nuer. 597

Strangers may be attached to the dominant clan by adoption or by marriage. [614]

Kinship values are the strongest sentiments and norms in Nuer society, and all social interrelations tend to be expressed in kinship idioms. Since there are no headmen or councils or any of the usual forms of government, it seems that kinship values, combined with the position of the dominant lineage and its linked stranger lineages, are the originising agencies and the means of unity in each community. 602 621

The political system of the Nuer is constituted by the relations between territorial segments in the tribal system; cohesion and organisation are achieved through the association of the lineage system with the territorial units. The lines of cleavage tend to coincide, for lineages are 621 613 619

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Local Community among the Nuer*, 1950, p.370.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.390.

411 614 association with the spirit *wiu* through the further association of this spirit with lightning and hence with the idea of striking, so that the spear *wiu*, perhaps also because it has a material existence, has become the prototype of clan 'spears'. Of the other spear, that of the Thiang clan and tribe, who occupy a territory I have not myself visited, we are told by Mr. B. A. Lewis only in whose possession it is and that it is called *mut bah thiang*.[1] Dr. P. P. Howell, who gives its name as *mut bar thiang*, tells me that he has not seen it but Nuer have described it to him as being nearly worn through with much polishing. It is unknown whether any cultic practices like those I have mentioned above are connected with it.

411 614 613 552 Apart from the Gaatgankir and the Thiang spears the spear-symbols of the Nuer clans and lineages are only names. Through the association of a tribal community with the clan dominant in it the spear-name of this clan is shouted out in invocations when the whole tribe goes to war but, except in this context, which I discuss below, in which a political group is merged conceptually with a clan or lineage, it is only called out in reference to a descent group as an exclusive group. Thus, when I asked a Wot tribesman whether his tribe had a tribal spear he replied: 'We have many spears. One lineage (*gol*) has one spear, another lineage has another spear, a third lineage has a different spear, and so on.' By 'spear' he meant a spear-name, not an actual spear. Consequently, if two 582] persons have the same spear-name there is likelihood of agnatic relationship, and spear-names are therefore often spoken of in connexion with proposed marriages. One hears Nuer saying in discussions about the permissibility of a proposed marriage 'what about their spears?', 'they have the same spear, they cannot marry', or 'their spear is different to ours, we can marry their daughter'.[2] At a wedding the masters of ceremonies on the bride's 585] side and on the bridegroom's side, each acting as representative 411 of his clan, begin their formal announcements that the marriage 614 negotiations have reached a successful conclusion (*twoc ghok*) 613 by shouting out their clan spear-names. The spear-name is also 597 shouted out by the master of ceremonies as the opening words of 552 the sacrificial invocation he makes when a Dinka boy is adopted

[1] B. A. Lewis, op. cit., p. 82.

[2] Should the two clans have the same spear-name this is not always a bar to the union, for secondary spear-names may indicate that they belong to different clans, or other circumstances may be taken into consideration.

16: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1956
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into the lineage of the man who has given him domicile, the expression for adopting being either *lath buthni*, to be given shares (in sacrificial meats) and hence to be given agnation, or *lath muot*, to be given a spear (-name), and hence to be made a member of the clan. He also shouts it out in sacrificial invocations at mortuary ceremonies, at settlement of blood-feuds, at initiations, and on other occasions which concern the whole clan (p. 288). When, as mentioned above, clan and tribe are identified politically in war and raiding a representative of the dominant clan of the tribe brandishes a spear and calls out the spear-name of his clan on behalf of the whole tribe. This man, called *ngul*,[1] is usually, perhaps always, a leading man of the senior lineage of the dominant clan, that descended from the eldest son of the ancestor of the clan. Thus in the Lou tribe this rite is performed by a man of the Gaaliek lineage of the Jinaca clan. Likewise the Tar lineage who have charge of the *wiu* spear are descendants of Thiang, the eldest son of the founder of the clan; and the Thiang clan who own the *thiang* spear are descended from Thiang, the eldest son of Gee.

[597]● 411 613 614 552

I cannot always explain the meaning of these spear-names or even translate them, and Nuer themselves cannot always say for certain what they mean, for they arose in ancient days. It is clear, however, that they are charged with symbols expressing the unity and continuity of clans and lineages. I give a few examples, choosing those in which the meaning is more or less evident. The Jiruet lineage have *mut tora*, spear of the monorchid. This lineage respects monorchids, whether they be man or beast. The Gaatiek clan have *mut yier*, spear of the stream, because their ancestor came out of a stream. The Gaatnaca clan have *mut ghama*, spear of the thigh. This seems to refer to the loins of the ancestor from whom they sprang. The Gaaliek lineage of this clan have the secondary spear-name *mut tang*, spear of the spear-shaft, because the *ngul*, whom I have referred to above, of the Lou tribe is of this lineage. He uses a spear-shaft in war ritual. The Gaatleak clan have *mut leak*, the word *leak* being simply, it would seem, taken from the clan name itself. Many leopard-skin priests are members

[1] He is also called *ngul ghok*, *ngul* of cattle, an expression which probably refers to the taking of enemy cattle on raids, and *gwan muot*, possessor of the spear. As he may break a spear-shaft in two and throw the pieces in the direction of the enemy he is further known as *gwan tang*, possessor of the spear-shaft. I was told that he may also invoke God for success in hunting in time of famine.